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ABSTRACT

An study investigated ways in which the political and economic development (PED) agendas of international organizations (IOs) permeated or pervaded PED agendas of the South African government's adult education and training policies. Policy documents of IOs were main data sources, and the richest data sources were country strategy papers written by IOs for South Africa. Data analysis focused on country strategy papers of the World Bank (1999), the British government's Department for International Development (1998), and the Swedish government's Swedish International Development Agency (1999). Findings indicated significant similarities and convergences among PED agendas in the country assistance strategy papers, South African government's development policies, and its adult education and training policies; some were centered around economic growth, trade, and poverty eradication. The PED agendas of IOs, reflective of the broader PED agendas of foreign governments, were evident in their development assistance policies and, more specifically, their country assistance strategy papers. Influences of the PED agendas in development assistance policies of IOs reinforced the shift in PED agendas of the South African government's development policies from social transformation toward neo-liberalism. Findings indicated a level of autonomy on the part of the South African government, especially in relation to its transformation agenda. (Contains 23 references.) (YLB)

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Researching Adult Education Policy in the Context of an Emerging Global Political Economy: The Case of South Africa

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Global, political, and economic developments prompt new perspectives in the theory of political economy and in particular, the political economy of adult education. As social theorists grapple with conceptualising and theorising the global political economy, the emerging global state and hopefully, a global civil society, a hiatus has appeared in political economy of adult education. Perspectives on the transformative political economy of adult education have emerged recently, but current global, political, and economic developments create the space for the development of a transformative political economy of adult education in the contexts of the emerging global political economy. The relationship between international organisations and the government of South Africa in adult education policy, located in the context of the global political economy, creates the grounds for exploring a new perspective on the political economy of adult education. The influences of the political and economic development agendas of international organisations on the political and economic development agendas of the South African governmentare apparent. The contests between these institutions concerning the redress of apartheid socio-political and economic inequalities in a changing global political economy are transparent. The differences between the institutions' development agendas concerning economic growth, redistribution, and poverty eradication which lie at the centre of the tensions, contradictions, and dilemmas in South Africa, reflect the contests in the international sphere of adult education policy in the new global political economy. These contests prompt a new perspective on the transformative political economy of adult education in the new global political economy. However, there is yet another dimension. If international organisations are conceptualisedas leading institutions in the emergingglobal state, then the evidence of their influences in the educational arena demonstrates hegemony. If the Battle of Seattle represents global civil society protest, then the stage is set for counter-hegemony, and the pre-conditionsare ripe for the evolutionof transformativepolitical economy of adult education which takes into account the struggles in the emerging global political economy between rich and poor, capital and labour, and black and white.

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The Issue/Problem

Since the early 1990s and particularly after the 1994 election of the democratic government, the involvement of international organisations in South Africa became apparent. As international organisations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation, the European Union, the array of United Nations' agencies, and multiple bilateral agencies descended upon the South African context, their political and economic agendas began to permeate those of the South African government. The progressive pervasion of the government's adult education policies by these political and economic agendas lent intrigue and became the basis of this research project. This paper researches the relationship between international organisations and the South African government in the global context of adult education policy during the period 1994-2000.

After the 1994 election, the democratic government published its new adult education and training policies. A study of these policies revealed that the government's commitment to social transformation was evident in their adult education and training policies but it was also apparent that neo-liberal political and economic agendas had permeated these policies. Influenced by the media and the literature, I was aware that international organisations were influencing the agendas of the South African government's economic policies. It also seemed apparent that the political and economic agendas in the development assistance policies of international organisations had permeated the political and economic agendas of the South African government's development policies in which its adult education and training policies were framed. The influences of the political and economic agendas of international organisations on the political and economic agendas, evident in the South African government's adult education and training policies constitutes the essence of the research problem. The

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central research question was formulated as follows: How do the convergences, tensions, and contradictions between the political and economic agendas in the development assistance policies of international organisations and the political and economic agendas in the South African government's development policies in which the adult education and training policies have been framed, constrain adult education's potential to effect social transformation in the context of the emerging global political economy?

Why is this study important? As international organisations assume new forms of influence and power in education policy, global, political, and economic development agendas have become more apparent in national adult education and training policies. This study analyses the internationalisation and globalisation of the South African government's adult education and training policies; and it prompts a consideration of the implications for social transformation of the globalisation and internationalisation of the political and economic development agendas in the South African government's adult education and training policies.

Why is South Africa an interesting case study? During the time of apartheid rule, sanctions were imposed in South Africa in the spheres of trade, politics, and development. The South African government had few multilateral and bilateral development assistance agreements with international organisations. After the election of the democratic government in 1994, many foreign governments entered into bilateral and multilateral agreements through which they provided development assistance for education. With the exception of a few foreign governments, the bilateral and multilateral relationships concerning development assistance are new. This historical vacuum renders a fairly transparent situation for investigating the influences of international organisations on the political and economic development agendas as reflected in the government's adult education and training policies. South Africa's continuing struggle to address apartheid socio-political and economic inequalities provides a mirror to reflect the political and economic development agendas of international organisations.

Theoretical Framework and the Purpose of the Study

New theoretical perspectives on the political economy approach to adult education are emerging. The most recent contributions to developing this approach are represented in Wangoola and Youngman, *Towards a transformative political economy of adult education* (1996), followed by Youngman's *The political economy of adult education and development* (2000). In his latest book, Youngman sketches the genealogy of the radical tradition in the theory of political economy and against this background, sketches the evolution of the political economy approach to adult education. Focusing on current trends, Youngman acknowledges that the new global political economy is prompting new perspectives on the political economy of adult education. In sketching the international context of adult education, Youngman (2000) identifies the institutionalisation of the role of international organisations in the "New World order" as a critical development. In the new global political economy, he suggests that international organisations like the World Bank and the IMF together with the Group of Seven and the Club of Rome are becoming the pillars of an emerging global imperial state, as referred to by Mbilinyi (1980). The involvement of these international organisations in developing countries has introduced a new set of relations between these international organisations, as emerging global state and the nation-state. In this regard, I contend that the engagement of these international organisations, specifically in the adult education policy arena, has prompted a new set of relations between the emerging global state and the nation-state in the context of adult education. As international organisations such as the World Bank and the IMF have become primary determinants of national adult education policies, so the political economy of adult education has to extend its analysis beyond the nation-state. Given these developments, there is agreement with Youngman's assertion that the political economy of adult education should extend beyond the nation-state because the relations of power in countries of the South extend beyond the realm of the nation-state. Taking cognisance of the latter, it seems apt that a political economy of adult education in a new global economy, should extend beyond the realm of the nation-state in order to incorporate the global capitalist state, or as Mbilinyi refers to it, the global imperial state.

An emerging theme in Youngman's (1996, 2000) analyses focuses on aid and adult education. In response to his own question, "what are the implications for adult education of imperialism and the new global political economy?" (Youngman, 1996a, p. 11) he asserts that "the most direct expression of imperialism for adult educators in the South is the activity of the donor agencies...." (Youngman, 1996a, p. 12). Youngman then explores an analysis of the relationship between imperialism, aid and adult education in the context of development in Botswana (Youngman, 1996b). In his latest book, Youngman (2000) develops his earlier ideas and presents a political economy analysis of imperialism, aid, and adult education from a more expanded theoretical perspective of aid as imperialism. Reflecting the overall theme of the book, Youngman (2000) critiques the literature on aid and adult education from a political economy perspective, covering the period from the 1960s to the 1990s, presented by prominent authors such as:
Cassara (1995), Hall (1986), Kassam (1986), King (1991), Mudariki (1996), Stromquist (1986), Unsicker (1987),

Vio Grossi (1986), and Wangoola and Youngman (1996). Noting that "a critical analysis of aid has largely been neglected in the study of adult education" (Youngman, 2000, p. 28), he develops a Research Agenda on Aid and Adult Education in which he outlines four components as a basis for analysing aid and adult education. These components consists of analysis of the national aid situation, analysis of aid to the adult educationsector, analysis of aid projects in the adult education sector; and analysis of the consequencesof aid to adult education. Using this research agenda, Youngman develops a case study in which he analyses aid and adult education in Botswana during the period from 1966 to 1991. In the relation between aid and adult education, he locates the medium of development, but states that the relationship between adult education and development is under researched. Youngman points out that "there remains a gap in the literature in terms of a comprehensive, up-to-date study of adult education and development from a consistent theoretical perspective" (Youngman, 2000, p. 6). In response, Youngman's (2000) latest book addresses this gap. In his overview of the theoretical trends in adult education and development theory, he provides a brief introduction to neo-liberal theory; and neo-liberal theory and adult education. His extends the discussion about neo-liberalism by incorporating an analysis of neo-liberalism under the rubric of imperialism, particularly in his discussion about "Aid as imperialism".

In constructing his theoretical perspective, Youngman identifies a relationship between aid and policy. Developing his earlier assertion that "the most direct expression of imperialism for adult educators in the South is the activity of the donor agencies...." (Youngman, 1996a, p.12), Youngman contends that, for international agencies, "the input of aid has often been of strategic significance in influencing policy and practice" (Youngman, 2000, p. 108). The relations between international organisations and the nation-state, which are embodied in the relationship between aid and adult education policy specifically provide the context in which new perspectives on the political economy of adult education policy can be developed. Hence, it seems that the relationship between aid and adult education policy is a potential sphere in which a political economy of adult education could be constructed which takes into account the current developments in the new global economy. Theoretical perspectives on the political economy of adult education policy has been well developed by Torres (1990). His theoretical approach is located largely in political sociology and he focuses mainly on the relationship between the capitalist state and adult education in the policy realm. Although his theoretical work is confined to the nation-state, it provides a foundation for the development of a political economy of adult education in the new global economy. The emergence of the global state in the new global economy and its relationship to the nation-state in the sphere of adult education policy should be the focus of a new perspective on the political economy of adult education.

As the global state rises to prominence in the global political economy, political and economic inequalities are intensifying throughout the world. These conditions reinforce the need for a political economy of adult education in a new global political economy. However, the challenge to transform these inequalities, prompts a political economy approach to adult education that is transformative in its nature. Youngman (2000) refers to this as the transformative political economy of adult education which should take as its context the global political economy. Here again the context of adult education policy is instructive. Situating adult education policy in the broader realm of the global political economy brings into focus the role of the emerging global state, the nation-state, and the emerging global civil society. Locating adult education policy in the broader context of struggles in the global political economy reveals adult education as a site of struggle between the emerging global state and the emerging global civil society. The protests against the World Trade Organisation, popularly referred to as the Battle of Seattle in 1999 and the international protests against the World Bank in Washington in 2000, represent, among others, the struggles against the adult education policies of international organisations. These protests, which extend into the realm of the adult education policy arena, create the foundations for the development of a transformative political economy of adult education in a new global political economy. The sphere of adult education policy, through the relation of aid, embodies the relationship between the emerging global state, the nation-state, and the global civil society. Here the relationship between aid and adult education policy lends itself to the development of a new perspective on the transformative political economy of adult education. This theoretical perspective should incorporate an analysis of the global state, the nation-state, and the global civil society. The foundations laid by Torres on the relationship between the nation-state and capitalist accumulation, Foley's work on "Adult Education and Capitalist Reorganisation", Mbilinyi's insights into the global imperial state, Hall's ideas on global civil society, combined with Youngman's analysis of the theory of political economic provide the basis for the development of a transformative political economy of aid, adult education policy, and development in the new global political economy.

Theoretical Approach

Youngman (2000) addresses the theoretical vacuum in the political economy approach to adult education by

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developing theoretical perspectives on the political economy of adult education and development. More specifically, he addresses the gaps in the literature, which he captures in the following quotations: "There remains a gap in the literature in terms of a comprehensive, up-to-date study of adult education and development from a consistent theoretical perspective" (p. 6). "There has been very little consideration given to aid in the adult education literature" (p. 110). "A critical analysis of aid has largely been neglected in the study of adult education (p. 28). In focusing on the relationship between adult education, aid, and development, Youngman also incorporates aspects of adult education policy, international organisations, identifying these as institutions of imperialism. My approach is located in the hiatus in the theory of political economy in general, and more specifically, the political economy of adult education policy. In some respects, my research project converges with Youngman's project of developing theoretical perspectives on the political economy of adult education and development. Incorporating aspects of development, including development assistance, aid, international organisations, the global state, and the nation-state, the research project is located within the parameters of the political economy of adult education policy.

The first intention of the empirical study, which investigated the influences of international organisations on the South African government's adult education policies, was to develop in the context of an emerging global political economy, new insights and perspectives on the relationship between international organisations and the South African government in the global context of adult education policy. A second intention was to prompt new perspectives on the transformative political economy of adult education in new global political economy. However, the main purpose of this research project is to enable adult educators in South Africa and elsewhere to understand the relationship between international organisations and the South African government in the global context of adult education policy. In essence, this study shows that the political and economic agendas in the development assistance policies of international organisations have permeated the South African government's adult education policies and potentially contributed to undermining of adult education's role in social transformation.

The hiatus in the theory of political economy presented certain limitations. For the purpose of the research, it was not possible to formally conceptualise and theorise international organisations as institutions of the emerging global state and the government as the nation-state. Given this theoretical vacuum, I was also unable to locate my investigation in the context of the relationship between the emerging global state, the nation-state, and capitalist accumulation in the global economy. Remaining within the political economy approach, broadly speaking, I investigated the political and economic development agendas through which international organisations exercises influence and power over the South African government. Given the general hiatus, this theoretical approach was limited and the findings reflect the gaps in the theory of political economy in general, and more specifically, in the political economy of adult education policy. A significant limitation in the findings and conclusions is that the political and economic agendas of international organisations are identified as global, political, and economic agendas, but are not analysed as agendas of the emerging global state per se or as an instrument of the global political economy.

A theory of political economy that reflects the emergence of a global state in the new global political economy would provide the possibilities for deeper theoretical insights. This theory could provide a framework for analysing the political and economic developments in the global political economy, the relationship between the global state and the nation-state, and the relationship between international organisations, the emerging global state, and capitalist accumulation. More particularly, a political economy of adult education, which locates the role of international organisations in adult education in the new global political economy, would also provide further insights.

Specific Questions the Study is Designed to Address

Reflecting a political economy approach to an empirical investigation, the following questions, ranked in order of complexity, were address:

1. What are the political and economic development agendas in the development assistance policies of international organisations?
2. How have the political and economic development agendas in the development assistance policies of international organisations permeated the political and economic agendas in the development policies in which the adult education and training policies have been framed?
3. How have the political and economic development agendas in the development assistance policies of international organisations influenced the nature of the political and economic agendas in the development policies in which the adult education and training policies have been framed?

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4. How do the influences of the political and economic development agendas of international organisations on the political and economic development agendas of the South African government's development policies in which its adult education and training policies were framed, constrain the potential of adult education to effect social transformation in the context of the emerging global political economy.
5. What are the convergences, tensions, and contradictions between the political and economic agendas in the development assistance policies of international organisations and the political and economic agendas in the South African government's development policies in which the adult education and training policies have been framed?
6. How do the convergences, tensions, and contradictions between the political and economic agendas in the development assistance policies of international organisations and the political and economic agendas in the South African government's development policies in which the adult education and training policies have been framed, constrain adult education's potential to effect social transformation in the context of the emerging global political economy?

Data Collection and Analysis

Research Method

The aim of the empirical study was to investigate the influences of international organisations on the South African government's adult education policies in the context of the emerging global political economy. Elaborated as follows, the aim of the study was to investigate the ways in which the influences of the political and economic development agendas of international organisations on the political and economic development agendas of the South African government's development policies in which its adult education and training policies were framed, constrain the potential of adult education to effect social transformation in the context of the emerging global political economy. The aim however, was not to determine direct influence, but to investigate the ways in which the political and economic development agendas of international organisations have permeated or pervaded the political and economic development agendas of the South African government's adult education and training policies. The choice of document research as the research method and data collection strategy was shaped by the nature of the research project in general. As information was gathered in the preliminary stages of the investigation about international organisations various options research methods presented themselves. However, document research emerged as the primary data-collection strategy. The method of document research, as such, is not well documented. Aspects of document research appear in the literature. Merriam (1998) discusses mining documents as a data-collection strategy. In their discussion of qualitative data, Bogdan and Biklen (1992) identify a range of documents as potential sources of data. These discussions about aspects of document research are generic and literature in respect of this method that reflects a political economy approach seems to be non-existent. Data-analysis, as an aspect of the method of document research, which focuses on documents as a main source of data, can also be described as documentary analysis. With the choice of policy documents as a primary source of data, the analysis of the documents or documentary analysis, resembled policy analysis.

Data-collection

The method of document research determined the strategies for collecting the data. Policy documents of international organisations were the main sources of data sought. Some documents were easily obtainable. Documents, which were considered internal, with a limited public circulation, were more difficult to collect. On the odd occasion, the receipt of these kinds of documents occurred in a relationship of confidence. When I commenced this project in 1998, few international organisations had websites and even fewer attached their documents to their sites. Fortunately, many documents are now available on the websites of the international organisations. USAID, for example, has made their country strategy papers available on their website, while the Department for International Development (DFID) has not. In fact a few months after starting the research project, I discovered that it was not until 1998, that DFID began to make their country strategy papers available to the public at all. Examples of documents which were collected are: the British government's White Paper on International Development, Country Strategy Paper (DFID), Learning opportunities for all, a policy framework for education (DFID), Country Strategy for Development Co-operation from the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Policy for SIDA Co-Op in Basic Education, and Education Reform (SIDA).

Coding the Documents and Mining the Documents for Data

The richest sources of data were found in the country strategy papers written by international organisations for South Africa. The sample of country strategy papers included those of the World Bank (1999), British government's Department for International Development (1998), and the Swedish government's Swedish International Development Agency (1999). A reason for identifying the country strategy papers in particular, as the richest sources of data was that these documents revealed the political and economic agendas of the international organisations in general and also in respect to South Africa. The second reason was that these documents demonstrated the interactions, interplay, and articulation between the political and economic development agendas of the international organisations and the South African government's political and economic development agendas. The process of coding the documents was done manually rather than using a computer software program such as "Nvivo". The documents were scanned and all words, part sentences, sentences, paragraphs, and/ or sections that were explicitly and implicitly related to political and economic agendas were underlined or encircled and coded as political or economic. This reflects the political economy approach undergirding the research process. Through this process of coding, the political and economic development agendas of the international organisations were specifically identified.

Data-management

In preparation for the data-analysis, there was a process of data synthesis through which the data, denoted by the coded sections in the policy documents, was assembled and captured onto spreadsheets. One spreadsheet captured all the political agendas and another, the economic agendas. On each of the spreadsheets, a column was allocated for each international organisation and the data was captured in the appropriate column. The data was either written or typed onto little blocks of paper and, using mounting putty, were lodged in the appropriate columns. Data was drawn from the data-base of a sub-research project which was running parallel to this one and which also investigated the political and economic development agendas in the South African government's development policies and its adult education and training policies. For the purpose of the latter, spread sheets were also used and so the data was imported on little blocks of paper onto the spread sheets which now included additional columns for the South African government's development policies: White Paper on Reconstruction and Development; the macro-economic strategy; and its adult education and training policies: the Green Paper Skills Development Strategy for South Africa; the Skills Development Act; and the Policy on Adult Basic Education and Training. Allowance was also made for the recently published Adult Basic Education and Training Bill.

Data-analysis

The sample of country strategy papers included those of the World Bank (1999), British government's Department for International Development (1998), and the Swedish government's Swedish International Development Agency (1999). These documents were used as the focus of the data-analysis.

For the purposes of the data analysis, data from the database of the sub-research project, mentioned above, was also included. Therefore this research project brought together the political and economic development agendas as found in the development assistance policies of international organisations, in the South African government's development policies, and in its adult education and training policies. The government's development policies that were investigated were the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development and the macro-economic strategy, referred to as "Growth, Employment, and Redistribution" published in 1994 and 1996 respectively. The adult education and training policies included in the study were the Green Paper, Skills Development Strategy for South Africa (1997), the Policy on Adult Basic Education and Training (1997), and the Skills Development Act (1998). The sequence of the dates of publication of the investigated policy documents was a significant factor in the data-analysis. Most international organisations, which are involved in South Africa only, established relationships and formalised multilateral and bilateral agreements with the South African government after the democratic elections in 1994. The formalisation and signing of the agreements concerning development co-operation took quite a while to materialise and some of these were only finalised in 1996. Therefore, several international organisations only finalised their country assistance strategy papers as recently as 1998 and 1999. Examples are the British government's Department for International Development and the World Bank who published their country assistance strategy papers in 1998 and 1999 respectively. By engaging these country strategy papers, also referred to as development assistance policies, as a major source of data I had to use the adult education and training policies which were published around the same time or later than the country strategy papers identified for the study. The Skills Development Act and the Adult Basic Education and Training Bill, published in 1999 and 2000 respectively by the South African government, were therefore the most likely sources of data. However, as the Skills Development Act of 1998 has its roots in the Green Paper Skills Development Strategy for South Africa of 1997 and the Policy on ABET published in 1997 was the precursor to the Adult Basic Education and Training

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Bill of 2000, data was also extracted from those earlier documents. The political and economic development agendas in these adult education and training policies, however, also have their roots in the development policies that were published in 1994 and 1996. The involvement of international organisations in the formulation of these development policies, particularly the macro-economic strategy, "Growth, Employment and Redistribution" is clear as two consultants from the World Bank were involved in the formulation of this policy (Department of Finance, 1996). For these reasons, the South African government's development policies, published in 1994 and 1996, were relevant and pertinent. Although the country assistance strategy papers of the international organisations were a major source of data and some of these are as recent as 1998 and 1999, some of the organisations' involvement, for example, the World Bank, can be traced to the early 1990s. Therefore the permeation of the political and economic development agendas of international organisations into the South African government's policies pre-dates the publication of their country assistance strategy papers and can be traced from the early 1990s onward.

I chose to focus the investigation on the political and economic agendas found in the country assistance strategy papers of the international organisations; and the political and economic development agendas in the South African government's development policies and its adult education policies. The country strategy papers were chosen as the pivotal subject of inquiry in the empirical investigation because the development agendas evident in these policies are the medium through which international organisations exercise their influence. A choice of education or adult education policies as the subject of the empirical investigation would have lent itself to a rather superficial analysis as the education or adult education policies of international organisations are framed within the general development assistance policies such as the country strategy papers and the White Papers and the Acts, in the same way that the South African official adult education and training policies have been conceptualised in the framework of the government's development policies. In fact, it is necessary to locate the analysis of the influences of international organisations through their country strategy papers in the broader context of their organisations, their governments, and governing boards and their foreign policies.

The data-analysis focused on the relationship between the political and economic agendas found in the country strategy papers of the international organisations and the political and economic development agendas in the South African government's development policies and its adult education policies. However, as many of the adult education and training policies, which were engaged in the study, were only published recently, the data-analysis, at this stage, is quite limited. The data was examined to identify the similarities and differences between the political and economic agendas in the country assistance strategy papers of the international organisations and those in the South African government's development policies and its adult education and training policies. Based on this analysis, the following findings emerged from the study.

Findings

In some ways, this research project was premature and this limits some of the findings of the investigation. Some explanations for the limits are captured in the above discussion of the data-analysis. Of particular importance, is the recentness of the country strategy assistance papers and the South African government's adult education and training policies.

The main research question, stated as follows, represents the backdrop to the findings: How do the convergences, tensions, and contradictions between the political and economic agendas in the development assistance policies of international organisations and the political and economic agendas in the South African government's development policies in which the adult education and training policies have been framed, constrain adult education's potential to effect social transformation in the context of the emerging global political economy? The findings of this empirical study must be viewed in the international context of education policy and more specifically, adult education policy. The influences of the political and economic development agendas in the country assistance strategy papers of international organisations on the nature of the political and economic agendas in the South African government's adult education and training policies also have to be understood in a context in which international organisations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have become prominent in the spheres of international and national education policy since the early 1990s. The Jomtien conference, organised by the World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF and the UNDP in 1990, marked a turning-point in the international education policy arena, illustrating the emerging role of international organisations in formulating international education policies, which in turn, have influenced national education policies. Since then, international organisations have become progressively more centrally involved in shaping and determining national education policies (Samoff, 1994). During the past decade, several researchers and academics have demonstrated that international organisations have influenced national education policies around the world (Puigross, 1999; Samoff, 1994; Torres & Puigross, 1998; Youngman, 2000).

The international relations which characterise the relationship between international organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organisation; and the governments in the North which are involved in South Africa, through their own international organisations, are also critical aspects of the findings. Of particular significance is that the political and economic development agendas of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have infiltrated the development agendas of other international organisations such as the Department of International Development (White, 1998). In the case of bilateral agencies, the larger political and economic context of foreign governments and their array of foreign policies are also instructive.

Developments that occurred in the South African sphere of adult education policy prior to this investigation are also pertinent to the findings of this study. Some of these are mentioned briefly. The democratic government, which took up office in 1994, first published its adult education and training policies, the Policy on Adult Basic Education and Training, and the Green Paper Skills Development Strategy for South Africa in 1997. Both policies were framed in the context of the government's development policies, the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development and the macro-economic strategy, "Growth, Employment and Redistribution" published in 1994 and 1996 respectively. During the period between 1994 and 1997, international organisations were actively engaged in South Africa and there is evidence that the World Bank, for example, had influenced the government's development policies (Department of Finance, 1996). By the time this study commenced, adult education and training policies were already in place and it was evident that these had been framed in the government's development policies.

The investigation found significant similarities and convergences between the political and economic agendas in the country assistance strategy papers, the South African government's development policies, and its adult education and training policies. Some similarities and convergences between the World Bank's country assistance strategy paper, DFID's country assistance strategy paper, SIDA's country assistance strategy paper, the South African government's White Paper on Reconstruction and Development and the macro-economic strategy were centred around economic growth, trade, and poverty eradication. The broad political and economic agendas of the international organisations were evident in an array of foreign governments' foreign policies such as White Papers and Acts. The political and economic development agendas of these international organisations, reflective of the broader political and economic agendas of foreign governments, were also evident in their development assistance policies, and more specifically, their country assistance strategy papers. These papers explicitly stated their political and economic development agendas in relation to those in the South African government's development policies. The manner in which the country strategy papers articulated their development agendas with those in the South African government's development policies, reflected a clear indication of the ways in which international organisations sought to interact with the South African government's political and economic development agendas. If the prominent role of the World Bank in the spheres of international and national education policy since the early 1990s is taken as the starting-point, together with the fact that the World Bank has played an active role in the formulation of the South African government's macro-economic strategy, Growth, Employment and Redistribution, then the similarities indicate that some political and economic agendas in the South African government's development policies can be traced to the political and economic development agendas in the World Bank's country assistance strategy paper.

These findings confirm that the political and economic development agendas in the country assistance strategy papers of international organisations have permeated the political and economic agendas of the South African government's development policies. As the South African government's adult education and training policies were framed in its development policies, the former reflected the government's political and economic development agendas. Therefore, it can be argued that the political and economic development agendas in the country assistance strategy papers of international organisations have permeated the political and economic agendas of the South African government's development policies in which the adult education and training policies have been framed.

The influences of the political and economic agendas in development assistance policies of the international organisations in general, reinforce the shift in the political and economic development agendas of the South African government's development policies from social transformation towards neo-liberalism. My study of the 1997 adult education and training policies showed that the political and economic development agendas, in which they were framed, promoted social transformation and neo-liberalism. This investigation found that the political and economic development agendas in the development assistance policies of some international organisations reinforce the political and economic development agendas in the South African government's adult education and training policies, which promote both social transformation and neo-liberalism. However, the similarities between the political and economic development agendas of the international organisations and those of the South African government can be misleading. Although these agendas are the same, the ideological intentions and theoretical underpinnings embedded in the notion of poverty eradication, for example, could differ

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among the actors. Poverty eradication could therefore be promoted as an element of social transformation or neo-liberalism or both. The influences of the political and economic development agendas in the development assistance policies of international organisationson the political and economic development agendas in the South African government's adult education and training policies seem to have re-configured the relationship between adult education and training and social transformation. International organisations, through their political and economic agendas in the development assistance policies could therefore potentially constrain the efforts of adult education to effect social transformation and could therefore contribute to perpetuate the socio-political and economic inequalities in the society. These findings seem to suggest an alliance between international organisations and the South African government in the global context of adult education policy in respect of an ostensibly common agenda. At the same time however, the findings indicate a level of autonomy on the part of the South African government, especially in relation to its transformation agenda. These concluding findings however, are tentative, as these require a more in-depth analysis of the theoretical underpinnings of the development assistance policies of international organisations and the development policies of the South African government.

Impact

The contribution of this research project to my teaching is particularly apparent in two courses, which are directly related to my research project. The first course "Adult Education and Training Policy in Transition: Transforming Policy, Transforming Society" focuses on the evolution of adult education and training policies since 1990 and is offered to students taking the Advanced Diploma for Educators of Adults. For this course, I developed a coursebook in 1997. My engagement in the research project helped me update this coursebook in 1999 and it will contribute to the update during the second semester, 2000 when I shall be teaching this course again. The second course, "Adult Education and Training Policy and Development: Theoretical Perspectives" is offered to students taking a Masters in Education. This course focuses on the emergence of recent adult educationand training policies in the context of the changing global political economy. When I taught this course during the first term of this year, I exposed students to the research method and data-analysis that I developed in my research project. Integrating the teaching of a research method into the course was an interesting and rewarding experience and students provided a very positive evaluation of the course.

Teaching from a research base, which this project has permitted, has been a stimulating and enriching experience. It has allowed the focus to develop the area of adult education and training policy. This has made a significant difference to the depth of analysis and knowledge that I was able to convey to my students. For the past two years, the University of the Western Cape suffered a 100% cutback in its budget for new books. Therefore, students have benefited directly from the books that I purchased through the Houle scholarship. As the university subscribes to only a few adult education journals, students also benefited from the journal articles and book chapters that I located during my searches at the UCLA libraries.

This research project has contributed enormously to my development as a professional researcher. South Africa's academic research capacity, especially among academics from disadvantaged backgrounds, is severely undeveloped. The experiences of conceptualising a research project and executing it have enabled me to engage in complexities of research methodology and to sharpen my data-collection strategies and analyses. In the academic training of researchers in many fields, the sense of a research community is often absent or lacking in one way or another. The annual retreats, the times spent at UCLA and finally, my visiting professorship in the Department of Adult Education at the University of Georgia enabled me to experience a sense of a research community.

Through the experiences of this project, I have influenced the course of another research project, referred to as Mapping Aid for Education in South Africa, which is funded by South Africa's National Research Foundation (NRF). After sharing my experiences with the project leaders, they altered their course. They are now awaiting the findings of my research project in order to decide how we should proceed.

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